1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 208 [186] social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the Southern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true religion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 175 578 648 [563] [579] During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The British colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Authority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder, riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them correct, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C. and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled [167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian parties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emirate.

665 648 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern region was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this region between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 105 178 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times. As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals. Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tradition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

Table XXXV

24, 25. Willingness to marry out: willingness to marry a non-Kanuri; willingness to marry a Hausa, a Fulani, a Moslem Babur, a Moslem Yoruba.

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565*
463*
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	1. Non-Kanuri		2. Hausa		3. Fulani		4. Babur		5. Yoruba	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Aristocracy	4	1	3	2	3	2	3	2	4	1
Koranic Malams	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1
Canteen Operators	3	3	4*	2	-	6	1	5	-	6
NA Malams	6	-	4	2	4	2	4	2	2	4
Kabuna	3	3	2	4	2	4	2	4	1	5
Craftsmen	2	4	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5
Talaka	3	5	3	5	1	7	4	4	2	6
Low-status Individuals	2	2	-	4	-	4	-	4	-	4
Totals	25	19	19	25	13	31	17	27	12	32

* a canteen operator stated that he would marry a Hausa woman, but only if she wore her hair in the Kanuri fashion.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[GEIDAM]

*177 582 *565 *634 *[463] the Aristocracy (80 per cent would) and the NA Malams (100 per cent would). In contrast, among the Craftsmen only 33 per cent would marry out and among the Talaka only 38 per cent would marry out. The four remaining groups do not show clear-cut preferences.

*177 582 • 186 The remainder of the table is concerned with the attitudes of the sample towards marriage with women of four tribes. Since it was anticipated that few, if any, individuals would indicate willingness to marry a white woman, or a non-Moslem, the choices which were offered were limited to tribes who are all present in the area and who are known to the people of the community of Geidam. The Fulani are all Moslem and the Hausa almost all Moslem; in the case of the Babur and the Yoruba who are partly Moslem, the question was specifically phrased: would you marry a Moslem Yoruba, or a Moslem Babur woman?

It may be seen from the table that willingness to marry women of the four tribes which were selected varies, though in no case do the members of the sample appear to be as willing to marry from the tribes offered them in the question as the answers to the previous question (column 1) would indicate. The most popular tribe was the Hausa, and 43 per cent said they would marry a Hausa woman. The next in order of popularity was the Babur tribe, a part-Moslem, part-pagan people living in Bornu Province and strongly acculturated to the Kanuri; 38 per cent indicated willingness to marry a Babur woman. Fewer people are willing to marry a Fulani woman; though the Fulani

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177 582 186 are Moslems like the Kanuri, they are pastoralists who live in the bush and differ greatly from the urban Geidamites; 30 per cent would marry a Fulani woman. The least popular choice was the Yoruba woman, selected by only 27 per cent of the sample. Though the Yoruba who live in Northern Nigeria are all urban people, and the question referred specifically to Moslem Yoruba who are numerous, the Yoruba are generally identified as a southern tribe of very different background.

[565] Considering each group in turn, the Aristocracy are noteworthy in their willingness to marry Yoruba women, whom they seem to prefer above the other three choices. This might be attributed to their wider orientation as a group. The Koranic Malams show no difference in their preferences among the four [441] tribes. The Canteen Operators are almost unanimous in rejecting three of the four tribes, yet a majority of them (67 per cent) would marry a Hausa woman. This curious and striking result can be explained quite simply by looking at the role of the Canteen Operators. Their normal activities in trade bring them into contact with Hausas and they all speak Hausa. Because of the frequency of their interaction with members of that culture they show a willingness to marry Hausa women. This does not extend to women of other tribes in the form of a general willingness to marry out, as can readily be seen by their [634] responses in columns 3, 4, and 5. The NA Malams are willing to marry with women of three of the tribes, including the unpopular Fulani, but unlike the Aristocracy they are not willing to marry

a Yoruba woman. The Kabuna are an intermediate group, and show little variability in their preferences. The Craftsmen are very consistent in their resistance to marriage with women of any of the tribes offered to them. The Talaka on the other hand show a wide variation in their attitudes towards the four tribes. They are almost unanimous (88 per cent) in their objection to marriage with a Fulani woman, but one half would marry a Babur woman. Presumably urban versus rural factors and the degree of acculturation towards Kanuri culture which the Babur have demonstrated would lead Talaka to favor the Babur and oppose the Fulani. The Low-status Individuals are the only completely unanimous group in this respect. None of them would marry women from any of the four tribes offered to them.

Another aspect of marriage is willingness to marry an educated woman. Responses to the question: would you marry a Kanuri woman who had gone to school and who spoke English, are presented in Table XXXVI. Most people (73 per cent) said that they would marry an educated woman. Reasons offered for marrying such a woman mention the usefulness of a knowledge of English and the money which a wife of that sort could earn. Two people note that they would marry such a wife only if she prayed regularly, implying that Western education is often accompanied by a decline in piety and the practice of religious ritual. In opposing marriage with such a woman, people state that an educated wife would be a better and more accomplished person than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 324]

665 it is well known encourage women to join their organization and come
641
[186] to its meetings just like men. Finally it is always pointed out that the opposition is linked to the southern Ibo party, and that a vote for such a group, even though the local members profess Islam, is a vote against religion, and for the despised pagans.

665 In the N.A. it is an unwritten law that everyone should sup-
647 port the N.P.C., or at least not actively oppose it. Without exception, all informants in the N.A. felt that they would lose their jobs if they were to give even a hint of support to the opposition party. It is furthermore believed that the British favour the N.P.C. and discriminate
[648] against the opposition party. This view is corroborated for people by some of the British administrative officers who, because of their long association with the N.A. and the traditional power groups, are easily convinced by the N.A. officials that the opposition party is composed of malcontents and agitators who may cause trouble, the anathema of the colonial service. The result of all this is a feeling of suppression among many of the younger N.A. members, who pay lip service to the N.P.C. but secretly report their support of the opposition party.

665 This opposition party, originally the Bornu Youth League, now a part of the N.E.P.U. (Northern Elements Progressive Union),(1) is headed by a renegade Bornu aristocrat, who has a genuine desire to reform his country. The party is supported by Ibos, dissidents, and acculturated young people who feel that reforms are necessary in the political system. In the party organization itself are many Kanuri who are behaving in a traditional manner. They consider themselves the extended household organization of the party leader. Several of them re-

(1) This party is linked to the party of Dr. Azikwe in the Eastern Region.

/Information pertinent to various aspects of ethnocentrism may be found in category 829./